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## INJUSTICE OF THE JUDGES

**T**HE general tendency to criticise and to ridicule everything connected with the peace movement is not only unjust, but serious and dangerous. Pacifists can stand it to be called "unpatriotic" and "cowardly," even by such distinguished opponents as Mr. Roosevelt and others. All great movements have been ridiculed in the past by those who knew no better. As said by Baroness Bertha von Suttner: "There are three phases which every constructive movement has to pass through. In the first phase it is ridiculed; in the second it is antagonized; and in the third it is accepted as a matter of course." The peace movement has evidently entered the second phase. The militarist, lacking arguments, is resorting not only to ridicule, but to insult. The cartoonist amuses himself for the nonce by letting loose a vitriolic fancy in the form of a dove or Mr. Bryan.

But more to be regretted are the critics among the friends of peace, those who believe it to be rational, sane, and attainable. Thus the president of Harvard University, A. Lawrence Lowell, in an article, "A League to Enforce Peace," published in *The World's Work* of September, 1915, says:

"They (the pacifists) appear to think that war can be forever drowned out by a flood of talk; that the pen can grind the sword into a plowshare."

And Professor Hugo Münsterberg in the New York *Times* of September 19, in an article entitled "The Impeachment of German-Americans," says:

"It cannot be denied, however noble the pacifistic ideals are, their promoters have not succeeded as yet in proposing a single plan by which war would be abolished, and yet at the same time possibilities be given for the healthy growth of progressive peoples and for the historically necessary reduction of decadent nations."

And in a speech delivered before the Economic Club of Boston on February 8, 1915, Mr. August Schvan, of Sweden, said:

"It seems to me that the peace movement as it is today is nothing but a farce. What would we think if we would strive to root out crime by asking the criminals to join in societies for imposing certain rules upon each other? Does not modern criminology strive to remove the causes of crime and is not war in the present stage of the world a crime that must be dealt with in the same way?"

Many similar attempts to discredit this great, sincere, and most needed movement working for the good of mankind might be quoted. It is natural to ask whether these men realize what an enormous responsibility they are taking upon themselves by these continuous and unwarranted assaults against the peace movement, and whether they know if this country should be

drowned in a war to the extent of the European conflict that they would be guilty more than anybody else? It is by their ridicule and criticism that the peace movement is held back. It is they who prevent it from getting its full share of support from public opinion. This is a very serious responsibility.

Does not President Lowell see that his own statement is but another nail added to the "flood of talk"? Has Professor Münsterberg proposed "a single plan by which war would be abolished"? Can Mr. Schvan refuse to grant that if the peace movement is "a farce" the war movement is a farce raised to the *n*th power? Indeed, since this last critic calls the peace movement "a farce" and war "a crime," it must be that the self-satisfied gentleman must contemplate a third panacea to be known as the "Schvan movement," which will make neither for peace nor war, but possibly Nirvana.

## SOME ERRONEOUS VIEWS OF THE PEACE MOVEMENT

**I**T WOULD seem to be of some importance that the principles of the peace movement should be clearly understood. They are not clearly understood, rather they are misrepresented widely, and they are attacked bitterly. These misrepresentations and attacks are often made by highly intelligent persons. It is impossible here to enumerate all of these misrepresentations and attacks; but a few may be briefly stated and answered. For example, we are told that:

"By ignoring the importance of force the pacifists forget the importance of establishing a foundation, support, or sanction for international law."

The answer to this is that the pacifists base their whole movement upon the only hopeful sanction of international law, the only real and ultimate sanction, the sanction of public opinion. Hugo Grotius, the father of international law, stated his view that the sanction of international law is based in nature. There have been those who hold that, since there is no compelling force behind international law, therefore international law cannot be binding; Puffendorf and Hobbes were of this opinion. There are those who place the sanction of international law in the common consent, in the customs, decisions, awards, and laws of men, that is to say, in humanity or public opinion; Bynkershoek ably defended this last view. Mr. Elihu Root, Dr. James Brown Scott and others place the sanction for international law in public opinion. And it is this last view to which the American Peace Society subscribes.

Another:

"The present world war is sufficient evidence that the policies of the pacifists are intolerable."